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ABSTRACT

The Dialect Differentiation Measure (DDM) provides an objective, quantifiable means of identifying speakers of Black English. Three production tasks, designed to constrain the range of linguistic constructions with which a child may respond, elicit seven phonological and syntactic features characteristic of Black English. The DDM was tried out in an effort to test its ability to differentiate between the speech of thirty Anglo and black kindergarten children. The instrument ranked black children on a continuum of nonstandard usage and successfully distinguished speakers of nonstandard Black English. Tables of findings are included. (Author/JM)

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DEVELOPMENT OF A DIALECT DIFFERENTIATION MEASURE FOR BLACK ENGLISH: A STUDY OF BLACK AND ANGLO KINDERGARTEN CHILDREN

Carol W. Pfaff and Robert Berdan

ABSTRACT

The Dialect Differentiation Measure (DDM) was tried out with thirty Anglo and Black kindergarten children. The DDM consists of three production tasks, that elicit seven phonological and syntactic features characteristic of Black English. The instrument ranked Black children on a continuum of nonstandard usage and successfully distinguished speakers of Nonstandard Black English from others.

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DEVELOPMENT OF A DIALECT DIFFERENTIATION MEASURE FOR BLACK ENGLISH: A STUDY OF BLACK AND ANGLO KINDERGARTEN CHILDREN

Carol W. Pfaff and Robert Berdan

INTRODUCTION

The Dialect Differentiation Measure (DDM) provides an objective, quantifiable means of identifying speakers of Black English. This paper reports a tryout of the instrument with Anglo and Black kindergarten children.

The DDM elicits multiple occurrences of a limited set of linguistic constructions known to be characteristic of Black English. It is easily administered and may be evaluated in a limited amount of time by persons without extensive linguistic training. Its potential uses in educational research and practice are:

1. Placing children in groups to receive differntial instructional treatment.
2. A research tool to provide a measure of dialect usage with which other forms of language behavior may be compared.
3. An illustrative technique for instructing school personnel and other educators about Nonstandard Black English and other nonstandard dialects of English.

A pilot study with an earlier version of the measure established that Black kindergarten children were able to perform the tasks and that the tasks did in fact elicit highly comparable responses from each child (Berdan, 1972). In the present tryout, the measure was tested for its ability to differentiate between the speech of Anglo and Black kindergarten children.

THE INSTRUMENT

The DDM currently consists of three production tasks. These are designed to constrain the range of linguistic constructions with which the child may respond, without influencing the dialect-sensitive realizations of those constructions. They elicit seven linguistic features characteristic of Black English (Table 1). The rationale for the use of production tasks and the practical constraints on their form and content are discussed in greater detail in Berdan (1972). Each task is composed of ten to twenty items. The stimulus items are composed of one or two pictures and an oral question. The child's response is always oral.

Two additional tasks have been included in the study to provide comparison with a wider range of language behavior than that elicited by the DDM. One elicits direct repetition of Standard English responses to the DDM items. The other is a story telling task which elicits continuous speech without the constraints of production tasks. Data from these tasks will be used to determine utility of the DDM as a predictor of other nonstandard constructions and to evaluate the appropriateness of the style it elicits. The methods employed and the results will be reported in a separate paper.

TABLE 1

LINGUISTIC FEATURES ELICITED BY DDM TASKS AND THEIR POTENTIAL STANDARD AND NONSTANDARD REALIZATIONS

TASK	FEATURE	REALIZATION	
		STANDARD	NONSTANDARD
I	Initial voiced interdental fricative /ð/ TH	fricative [ð]	affricate [dč] stop [d]
II	The copula BE	is, -'s	be, ∅
II	HAVE as a main verb	has has got, -'s got	have got gots
II	DO as an auxiliary	does doesn't	do don't
II	DOUBLE NEGATION on Indefinite	a, ~~any~~	none no
III	Subject/verb AGREEMENT, present tense, third singular	[z], [s], [ɪz]	∅
III	Noun PLURAL	[z], [s], [ɨz]	∅

THE DDM TASKS

Task I

Task I is a simple discrimination task designed to familiarize the child with the materials and type of information he will be required to give in Task II. It is designed to elicit only one linguistic feature of interest: the pronunciation of the initial th in the words this and that.

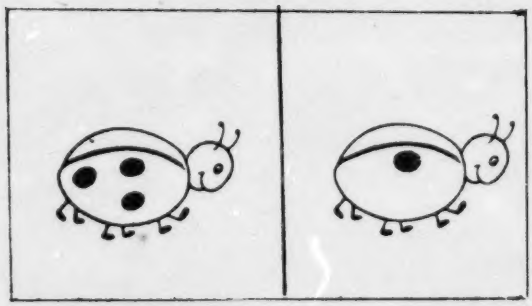
The stimuli consist of ten pairs of similar, but not identical pictures of five familiar items: bugs, birds, boats, houses and clowns.[2]

[2]The vocabulary items used as stimuli were restricted to words found to be used by kindergarteners (Kolson, 1960).

Members of each pair differed in one of four properties: size, color, number of parts, or presence or absence of a part; for example, large and small bugs, red and blue birds of the same size, houses with one or two windows, clowns with or without hats. A complete specification of the stimulus pictures is given in Appendix I.

For each pair of pictures presented, the child was asked a question of the type, "Tell me which bug has three spots, this one or that one." He was to respond by pointing and saying "This one." If the child only pointed, he was prompted by the interviewer, "Yes, can you tell me?" A sample exchange between interviewer and child and the possible realizations of the linguistic feature of interest are shown in Figure 1.[3]

FIGURE 1: EXAMPLE STIMULUS AND RESPONSE FOR TASK I



Interviewer: Tell me which bug has three spots, this one or that one?

Child: This (STP ð ɪs / NST {dð ɪs / d ɪs}) one.

[3]This example shows the correct answer on the left. The left/right position of the correct answer was varied so that no pattern was apparent to the child.

Task II

Task II employs the same pictorial stimuli as Task I, but different oral stimuli and requires a different and more complex response (Figure 2). Four linguistic features are elicited as shown in Table 1. In this task, the child is again shown the pairs of pictures and asked to tell what the difference between them is. He is already familiar from Task I with the distinctions he must report.

In this task, the type of property on which the pictures differ is significant in determining which linguistic features occur in the response. When the property is size or color, the response consists of two conjoined sentences containing the copula (verb to be) is, its contracted form 's or the zero realization, common in Black English.[4] A sample item is given in Figure 2.

When the property by which the two pictures differ is the number of parts, as in the example in Figure 1, a bug with three spots and a bug with one spot, the response consists of two conjoined sentences each containing a main verb indicating possession. This verb is either

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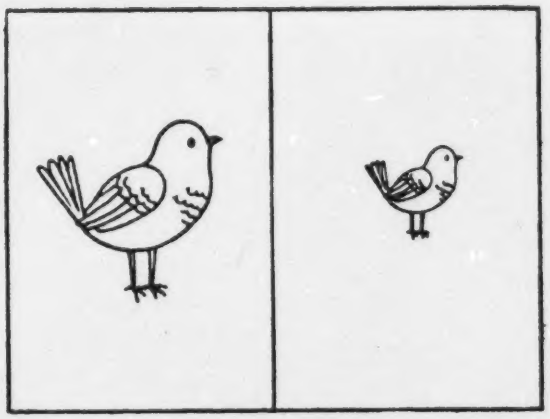
[4]The child need not respond with the same realization in both clauses of the response. For example, he may say, "This bird is big and this bird's little." He may pronominalize either or both instances of the noun, e.g., "This one is big and this one's little." Whether or not he uses a pronoun is not a significant feature of the response. The zero realization is nonstandard only when it occurs in the first sentence of the answer. A Standard English transformation (gapping) permits the copula to be deleted in the second of the pair of sentences, e.g., "This bird is big and that one little." (Ross, 1970.) This response does not seem to be typical of kindergarten children, however.

FIGURE 2: EXAMPLE STIMULUS AND RESPONSE FOR TASK II (BE)



Interviewer: What's the difference between this bird and that bird?

Child:
- STD:
  - This bird is big and that bird is little.
  - This bird's big and that bird's little.
- NST: This bird big and that bird little.

a form of the verb have, or a form of the verb got in the speech of kindergarten children. A sample exchange, with the possible response realizations is given in Figure 3.[5]

FIGURE 3: EXAMPLE STIMULUS AND RESPONSE FOR TASK II (HAVE)

Pictorial Stimulus: Same as Figure 1

Interviewer: What's the difference between this bug and that bug?

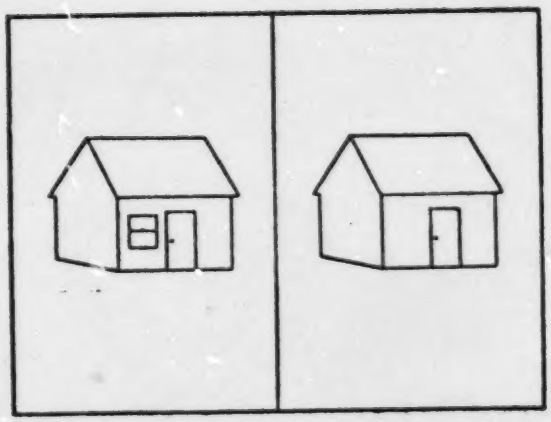
Child:
- STD:
  - This bug has three spots and this bug has one spot.
  - This bug has got three spots and this bug has got one spot.
  - This bug's got three spots and this bug's got one spot.
- NST:
  - This bug have three spots and this bug have one spot
  - This bug got three spots and this bug got one spot.
  - This bug gots three spots and this bug gots one spot.

[5]Again, pronominalization, e.g., "This one..." rather than "This bug..." is not significant.

When the property by which the two pictures differs is the presence or absence of a part, the response again contains a main verb indicating possession, as in the above example. In addition, it contains forms of NEGATION and the verb DO used as an auxiliary.[5] Figure 4 gives a sample exchange, in which the possible NEGATION and DO realizations are indicated. The realization of the possessive main verb is held constant in this example, although any of the realizations given in Figure 3 may occur.

FIGURE 4

EXAMPLE STIMULUS AND RESPONSE FOR TASK II
(HAVE, NEG, DO)--LEFT PRESENCE



Interviewer: What's the difference between this house and that house?

Child:

STD
- This house has a window and this house doesn't (have a window).
- This house has a window and this house doesn't have any (windows)

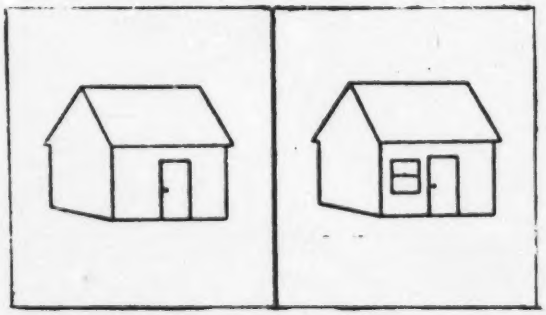
NST
- This house has a window and this house don't (have a window).
- This house has a window and this house don't have no window.
- This house has a window and this house don't have none.

[5]For discussion of the distinction between main verb and auxiliary, see Pfaff, 1972a,b.

It was found that the left/right position of the object with the part present largely determines the order in which the two pictures are described. This in turn significantly affects the linguistic feature DO. In Figure 4, the house with the window occurs on the left eliciting the sentences indicated. If the left/right ordering is reversed the possible responses are as indicated in Figure 5.

FIGURE 5

EXAMPLE STIMULUS AND RESPONSE FOR TASK II
(HAVE, NEG, DO)--RIGHT PRESENCE



Interviewer: What's the difference between this house and that house?

Child: STD This house doesn't have a window and this one does (have a window).

NST This house don't have a window and this one do.

The significance of this difference is discussed more fully under Results; briefly, the nonstandard realization. "...this one don't..." elicited by the order in Figure 4, is characteristic both of Anglo and Black children's speech, while the nonstandard realization "...this one do..." elicited by the order in Figure 5, is characteristic of the speech of Blacks only.

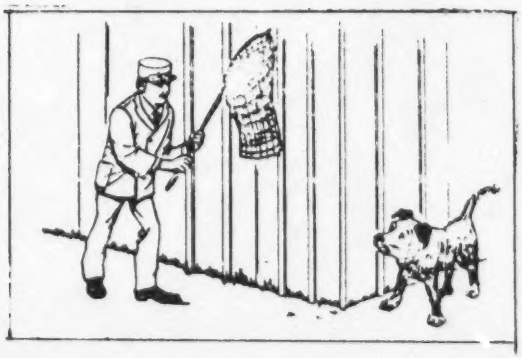
Task III

Task III consists of 16 items employing a new set of pictures and a new stimulus-response paradigm. It elicits two linguistic features; the PLURAL morpheme and the third person singular subject/verb AGREEMENT morpheme.

For each item, the child was shown a single picture of a person engaged in an activity characteristic of a recognizable occupation, e.g., dog catcher, movie maker, etc. The interviewer described the picture using an appropriate noun compound formed from the verb which expresses the person's activity and the noun which expresses the grammatical object of his activity. The child was asked to describe the picture with a sentence, saying what the person does. A sample item is given in Figure 6.

FIGURE 6

EXAMPLE STIMULUS AND RESPONSE FOR TASK III (PLURAL, AGREEMENT)



Interviewer: This is a dog catcher, what does he do?

Child:	STD	(He)	catches	dogs
	NST		catch	dog

PROCEDURES

The interviews were conducted by SWRL staff members in a mobile laboratory at the schools regularly attended by the children. One staff member functioned as the principal interviewer, another operated

the recording equipment and scored the responses as they were elicited. A third staff member conducted each child from his classroom to the mobile lab and back.[1]

The mobile laboratory was divided into two sections. The interview itself took place in the front section; the stereo recording equipment was located in the rear section, screened from the child's view by a partition. The interviewer sat across a low table from the child. Lavaliere microphones were placed on both interviewer and child. The stimulus materials were contained in a loose leaf binder, which was opened so that the stimulus pictures faced the child and the instructions and stimulus sentences faced the interviewer.

The tasks were presented to the child as a series of games to play with the picture book. Administration of the tasks required less than ten minutes per child.

PARTICIPANTS

The participants were thirty kindergarten children; ten Anglo and ten Black children from a school serving a low income neighborhood and ten Black children from a school serving a middle income neighborhood. There were equal numbers of males and females.

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[1]Pfaff was the principal interviewer, Berdan operated the recording equipment. Kuchenbecker was the third staff member. The presence of three staff members is not a necessary requirement of the administration of the DDM; it was a convenience for the purpose of the tryout. It is feasible for one individual to administer and simultaneously score the DDM.

RESULTS

Comparison of the mean nonstandard responses by group, indicated in Table 2, shows that there is a significant difference between the responses of Black and Anglo kindergarten children, but not between the middle and lower income Blacks.

Analysis of the responses by individual shows that there is considerable variation in usage of standard and nonstandard forms within the speech of a single individual. In addition, error analysis of the results for each linguistic feature (where "error" refers to nonstandard realization) reveals that in cases where more than one nonstandard form is possible, there are significant differences between the nonstandard realizations used by Blacks and those used by Anglos.

The results for each individual, by linguistic feature, are given in detail in the following sections. The relevance of each nonstandard realization is discussed both in terms of its distinguishing value and in its appropriateness in a DDM that may be administered by school personnel.

Task I: Pronunciation of initial TH

The responses by individual to Task I, which elicits the words "this one" or "that one" are given in Table 4.

Note that in the heading of Table 4, the realization [ð] is noted as "standard" and the realization [d] is noted as "nonstandard," but that the realization [dð] is not marked as either standard or nonstandard. In the present study, the affricate [dð] was regarded as a

TABLE 2

MEAN NONSTANDARD RESPONSES TO DDM TASKS

Feature	Middle Income Black	Lower Income Black	Lower Income Anglo
Agreement	.70	.69	.13
have	.72	.66	.13
do	.71	.67	.16
ð	.58	.32	.18
be	.18	.15	.01
plural	.09	.10	.01
double negation	.41	.50	.11
	.48	.44	.09

Table 3 gives the U-values of the Mann-Whitney statistic for differences between groups.

TABLE 3

U-VALUES OF MANN-WHITNEY STATISTIC FOR DIFFERENCES BETWEEN GROUPS

Feature	Black Lower x Black middle	Anglo x Black Middle	Anglo x Black lower
Agreement	47	15.5[2]	16.5[1]
have	49.5	10 [3]	18 [1]
do	49.5	10.5[3]	16.5[1]
ð	28.5	13 [2]	33.5
be	51.5	31	16 [1]
plural	41	21 [1]	26
double negation	43.5	27	18

[1]Significant at .05 level.
[2]Significant at .02 level.
[3]Significant at .002 level.

nonstandard realization for computation of the means summarized in Table 2. However, this classification is not at all clear cut. In a recent study of another nonstandard dialect (Wolfram, et al., 1971), the affricate was classified as a standard realization. Neither classification should be considered entirely correct, nor entirely incorrect.

The affricate realization [dð] is phonetically intermediate between the clearly standard realization (the fricative [ð]), and the clearly nonstandard realization (the stop [d]). The affricate [dð] is a fairly common variant in the speech of many persons who can generally be considered "standard English speakers," i.e., speakers who do not customarily use nonstandard realizations of other linguistic features such as HAVE, DO, DOUBLE NEGATION, etc. It is also a frequent response by those who may be considered "nonstandard speakers" with respect to the pronunciation of initial th and other features.

Table 3 shows that [dð] was an infrequent response by members of both Black and Anglo groups in the present study. It is not a realization which crucially distinguishes between Black and Anglo dialects of English. Since it is likely that scorers with limited phonetic training will tend to perceive the affricate as either [ð] or [d], it can be eliminated as a realization category in future versions of the DDM.

For the other two realizations, [ð] and [d], Table 4 shows that Anglos and both lower and middle income Blacks used both standard and nonstandard forms. In general, more Blacks used a high proportion of nonstandard stop realizations.

TABLE 4

RESPONSES TO TASK I (INITIAL TH)

PARTICIPANT	STD ð	dð	NST d	PERCENT NONSTANDARD
BL 1	3	0	6	67
BL 2	2	0	7	78
BL 3	9	0	0	0
BL 4	9	0	0	0
BL 5	5	3	1	44
BL 6	8	1	0	11
BL 7	9	0	0	0
BL 8	1	1	7	89
BL 9	9	0	0	0
BM 1	6	0	3	33
BM 2	4	1	4	56
BM 3	9	0	0	0
BM 4	0	0	9	100
BM 5	6	1	2	33
BM 6	5	1	3	44
BM 7	8	0	1	11
BM 8	3	1	5	67
BM 9	3	1	4	63
BM 10	0	0	9	100
BM 11	5	2	2	44
A/B	5	0	4	44
AL 1	7	0	2	22
AL 2	9	0	0	0
AL 3	9	0	0	0
AL 4	9	0	0	0
AL 5	7	1	1	22
AL 6	7	0	2	22
AL 7	9	0	0	0
AL 8	9	0	0	0
AL 9	1	1	7	89

Task II: BE, HAVE, DO, DOUBLE NEGATION

Task II, in which the children are asked to describe the difference between pairs of pictures, elicits data on four linguistic features: BE, HAVE, DO, and DOUBLE NEGATION. For each Task II item, the response consists of a sentence with two independent clauses (conjoined sentences). One clause describes each member of the pair of pictures.

Half of the twenty items in Task II elicit sentences with the copula BE used as a main verb. The results for this feature are given in Table 5.

Table 5 shows that the responses of the Anglo children were mostly standard; is or the contracted form 's was used in all but two instances. The two instances of zero realization occur in the position where the Gapping Transformation (see above fn. 4 p. 5) permits deletion. Thus, they may represent standard English syntax. The Gapping transformation is used relatively infrequently by adults and there have been no studies of its use by young children. Participant AL 4, who used zero realiza- of the copula in the gapping environment, also used a high proportion of nonstandard realizations of other linguistic features.

The responses of the Black children display both inter- and intra-personal variation. Some children in both the BL and BM groups always used standard realizations of BE. Those children who used nonstandard zero realizations, also used the standard forms. The zero realizations occurred in either the first, the second, or both clauses as shown in Table 6.

TABLE 5

RESPONSES TO TASK II (BE)

PARTICIPANT	STD is, 's	NST Ø	PERCENT NONSTD
BL 1	8	2	20
BL 2	18	1	6
BL 3	8	1[a]	58
BL 4	9	1	10
BL 5	14	2	13
BL 6	26	0	0
BL 7	20	0	0
BL 8	15	5	25
BL 9	20	0	0
BM 1	15	0	0
BM 2	14	0	0
BM 3	14	5	26
BM 4	18	0	0
BM 5	21	0	0
BM 6	8	7	47
BM 7	16	0	0
BM 8	8	6	43
BM 9	20	0	0
BM 10	5	14	74
BM 11	15	1	6
A/B	18	3	14
AL 1	3	0	0
AL 2	20	0	0
AL 3	19	0	0
AL 4	20	2[b]	9[b]
AL 5	15	0	0
AL 6	18	0	0
AL 7	19	0	0
AL 8	20	0	0
AL 9	20	0	0

a. In this instance the nonstandard response was are, rather than Ø.

b. In both instances, the zero realization occurs in the 2nd clause, where standard English gapping permits copula deletion.

TABLE 6

DISTRIBUTION OF NONSTANDARD ZERO COPULA REALIZATION BY CLAUSE

Group	1st Clause only	2nd clause only	Both Clauses	Neither Clause
BL (n = 9)	2	3	8	62
BM (n = 11)	3	10	8	81
A/B(n = 1)	1	0	1	8
AL (n = 9)	0	2	0	88

In Task II, sets of pictures designed to elicit a possessive main verb were alternated with those which elicited the copula. The standard and nonstandard HAVE responses are shown in Table 7.

Both groups of Black children gave more nonstandard responses than did the Anglo children. The use of _have_ rather than _has_ in third person, singular contexts is typical only of Black children. Both Black and Anglo children used _got_, but none of the children in any of the groups used the combined form _has got_, (often contracted to _'s got_, typical of many Anglo adults. However, Anglo children who used _got_, used it with the inflectional morpheme to form _gots_.

The HAVE sentences of Task II which distinguish the presence or absence of some part also employ DO and some form of NEGATION. If the picture without the part is described first, the second sentence of the response typically has a verb phrase reduced to _do_ or _does_. The nonstandard form _do_ was used only by Black children; standard _does_ was used by all Anglo children and by those Black children who also used standard _has_ (Table 8).

TABLE 7

RESPONSES TO TASK II (HAVE)

PARTICIPANT	STANDARD	NONSTANDARD			PERCENT NONSTANDARD
BL 11	0	5	10	0	100
BL 22	1	10	0	0	91
BL 33	0	2	8	0	100
BL 44	5	0	0	0	0
BL 55	0	10	2	0	100
BL 66	9	0	0	0	0
BL 77	14	0	0	0	0
BL 88	0	0	12	0	100
BL 99	0	0	13	0	100
BM 11	0	0	15	0	100
BM 22	0	4	8	1	100
BM 33	1	10	0	0	91
BM 44	0	2	13	0	100
BM 5	5	3	1	0	44
BM 6	12	3	0	0	20
BM 7	6	6	0	0	50
BM 8	0	16	4	0	100
BM 9	10	0	0	0	0
BM 10	1	9	0	0	90
BM 11	3	12	0	0	80
A/B	0	0	0	3	100
AL 1	8	0	0	0	0
AL 2	11	0	0	0	0
AL 3	9	1	0	0	10
AL 4	3	0	0	6	67
AL 5	6	0	0	1	14
AL 6	11	0	0	0	0
AL 7	9	0	0	0	0
AL 8	11	0	0	0	0
AL 9	11	0	0	0	0

TABLE 8

RESPONSES TO TASK II (DO)

PARTICIPANT	STANDARD		NONSTANDARD		PERCENT NONSTANDARD
	does	doesn't	do	don't	
BL 1	0	0	1	2	100
BL 2	0	0	2	5	100
BL 3	0	0	2	5	100
BL 4	2	5	0	0	0
BL 5	0	0	2	5	100
BL 6	1	2	0	0	0
BL 7	0	4	0	0	0
BL 8	0	0	0	4	100
BL 9	0	0	3	5	100
BM 1	1	0	0	5	83
BM 2	0	0	2	4	100
BM 3	0	0	3	4	100
BM 4	0	0	0	4	100
BM 5	2	5	0	0	0
BM 6	0	3	0	0	0
BM 7	0	0	2	3	100
BM 8	0	0	0	4	100
BM 9	1	7	0	0	0
BM 10	0	0	1	5	100
BM 11	0	0	1	5	100
A/B	3	6	0	0	0
AL 1	1	3	0	0	0
AL 2	2	5	0	0	0
AL 3	1	0	0	6	86
AL 4	2	5	0	0	0
AL 5	3	5	0	0	0
AL 6	2	5	0	0	0
AL 7	3	5	0	0	0
AL 8	1	5	0	0	0
AL 9	2	1	0	4	57

These items also elicited the negative forms of the DO auxiliary. Standard English allows either doesn't have or the reduced verb phrase doesn't. Some Anglo and some Black children used don't rather than doesn't. Standard English does not allow do as an auxiliary with got. Some Anglo and some Black children used a form of do with got; Anglos used doesn't, Blacks used don't.

Sentences which contain the negative forms doesn't or don't have the possibility of DOUBLE NEGATION if the object verb phrase contains a determiner like a, any, no, or none. Black children of both groups and one Anglo child used DOUBLE NEGATION (Table 9).

This one don't have no worm.

There were five instances of unattracted negation.

He have a hat and he have no hat

One has no windows and one has windows

Standard English allows a negative determiner in the object noun phrase with an affirmative verb, but it seems more typical of very formal discourse than of the casual style used by the children. Such sentences were not included in the computation of nonstandard negation.

Task III (Agreement, Plural)

Task III elicits data on two inflectional morphemes: present tense 3rd person singular verb AGREEMENT and noun PLURAL. The results are given in Tables 10 and 11, respectively.

These tables show that although the standard responses are phonologically similar for both linguistic features, the patterns of nonstandard responses are quite different. No Anglo children and only a few Black children used nonstandard plural; all children used standard

TABLE 9 ·

RESPONSES TO TASK (DOUBLE NEG)

	STD		NST		PERCENT
PARTICIPANT	A	ANY	NO	NONE	NONSTANDARD
BL 1	2	0	0	0	0
BL 2	0	0	2	0	100
BL 3	2	0	0	0	0
BL 4	1	0	2	0	67
BL 5	3	0	1	0	25
BL 6	1	0	0	0	0
BL 7	0	0	0	0	0
BL 8	0	0	2	0	100
BL 9	0	0	3	0	100
BM 1	1	0	0	0	0
BM 2	2	0	0	0	0
BM 3	0	0	3	0	100
BM 4	1	0	0	0	0
BM 5	1	0	0	0	0
BM 6	0	0	1	0	100
BM 7	0	0	3	0	100
BM 8	0	0	4	0	100
BM 9	0	0	1	0	100
BM 10	0	0	1	0	100
BM 11	1	0	0	0	0
A/B	0	1	2	0	67
AL 1	0	0	0	0	---
AL 2	2	0	0	0	0
AL 3	1	0	0	0	0
AL 4	2	0	0	0	0
AL 5	4	0	0	0	0
AL 6	2	0	0	0	0
AL 7	3	0	0	0	0
AL 8	1	0	0	0	0
AL 9	0	0	3	1	100

TABLE 10

RESPONSES TO TASK III (AGREEMENT)

PARTICIPANT	STANDARD [s], [z], [ɨz] w/ subject pronoun	STANDARD [s], [z], [ɨz] w/out subject pronoun	NONSTANDARD Ø w/ subject pronoun	NONSTANDARD Ø w/out subject pronoun	% NST w/out pronoun only	% NST w/ subject pronoun only
BL 1	0	0	5	10	100	100
BL 2	2	0	11	2	100	85
BL 3	0	0	0	15	100	----
BL 4	4	1	0	9	90	0
BL 5	0	1	2	13	93	100
BL 6	13	0	1	5	100	8
BL 7	14	1	0	3	75	0
BL 8	4	0	11	4	100	73
BL 9	0	0	16	1	100	100
BM 1	3	1	12	11	92	80
BM 2	10	1	4	0	0	28
BM 3	6	2	8	7	78	57
BM 4	1	0	14	8	100	93
BM 5	9	2	2	11	85	18
BM 6	0	0	14	10	100	100
BM 7	0	1	14	12	92	100
BM 8	1	0	16	8	100	94
BM 9	14	0	0	1	100	0
BM 10	0	0	14	4	100	100
BM 11	1	0	13	5	100	93
A/B	15	1	1	10	91	63
AL 1	4	6	1	4	40	20
AL 2	0	2	0	13	87	----
AL 3	6	2	3	6	75	33
AL 4	14	0	1	0	----	71
AL 5	12	0	4	11	100	25
AL 6	12	0	2	0	----	14
AL 7	14	1	0	3	75	0
AL 8	14	1	1	13	93	7
AL 9	16	0	0	2	100	0

TABLE 11

RESPONSES TO TASK III (PLURAL)

PARTICIPANT	STD [s], [z], [ɨz]	NST Ø	PERCENT NST
BL 1	8	0	0
BL 2	13	0	0
BL 3	13	0	0
BL 4	15	0	0
BL 5	13	0	0
BL 6	14	1	7
BL 7	14	1	7
BL 8	10	3	23
BL 9	6	9	60
BM 1	15	1	6
BM 2	11	0	0
BM 3	12	0	0
BM 4	13	2	13
BM 5	10	1	9
BM 6	11	6	35
BM 7	12	2	14
BM 8	13	3	19
BM 9	15	0	0
BM 10	14	1	7
BM 11	14	1	7
A/B	13	1	7
AL 1	13	0	0
AL 2	15	0	0
AL 3	15	0	0
AL 4	13	1	7
AL 5	14	0	0
AL 6	15	0	0
AL 7	15	0	0
AL 8	15	0	0
AL 9	15	0	0

plurals at least part of the time. Nonstandard agreement was used much more frequently than nonstandard plural by Black and by some Anglo children.

During the course of the tryout, it became apparent that in order to obtain meaningful results for Task III, it was necessary to elicit full sentences including the subject pronoun he or she as part of the participants' responses. In the pilot study (Berdan, 1972) and throughout about half of the present study, answers consisting of sentence fragments such as "catch dogs" were permitted since they contain both potentially inflected words. However, it may be that "catch dogs" for some children is not the nonstandard equivalent of the Standard English "catches dogs," but of some paraphrase in which the verb need not be marked for agreement such as "what he does is catch dogs." It was found that the participants could be induced to respond with sentences containing the subject pronoun by prompting them to "say the whole thing." This procedure was consistently followed for participants BL 8, BL 9, BM 1-11 and AL 5-9. Participants interviewed earlier in the tryout sometimes spontaneously produced sentences with subject pronouns. The results in Table 10 are separated into two types of responses depending upon whether or not subject pronouns were used. As can be seen, a much lower rate of zero verb inflection is found when the subject pronoun is used. The effect appears to be greater for the AL group than for either the BL or the BM groups.

IMPLICATIONAL RELATIONS AMONG FEATURES

A high degree of interpersonal variation in the rate of nonstandard usage was noted amont the children studied. Some children used

nonstandard responses for all the constructions, some gave few or no nonstandard responses to any of the constructions. Still other children used the nonstandard realizations of only some of the constructions. However, not all of the logically possible patterns of variations were observed.

The patterns of nonstandard usage which did occur are shown in the implicational scale in Table 12. The point of division between "1" and "0," and the order in which the constructions are arranged were independently determined in a previous study (Berdan, 1972). One additional feature, DOUBLE NEGATION, has been added.

The Rep of Table 12, is .92, above the standard .90 accepted by Torgerson (1967). Error cells are concentrated most heavily in the feature DOUBLE NEGATION. Reproducibility of DOUBLE NEGATION is only .76, suggesting that it does not scale with the other features. When DOUBLE NEGATION is excluded, the Rep of the remaining six features increases to .95.

It is not clear that Anglos should be included in the same scale as the Black participants. It is somewhat misleading to group the nonstandard responses of Anglos with those of Blacks. In the case of HAVE, the nonstandard realizations used by Black children were quite different from those used by Anglo children and resulted from very different grammatical processes. The rate of nonstandard response for the Anglo children is so low in most instances that the implicational scale provides little or no information about them.

TABLE 12

IMPLICATIONAL SCALE FOR BLACK AND ANGLO PARTICIPANTS

PARTICIPANT NO.	FEATURE AGREEMENT	DO	HAVE	NEGATIVE	ð	IS	PLURAL
BM 10	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
BL 2	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
BL 8	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
BM 3	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
BM 8	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
BM 4	1	1	1	0	1	0	0
BL 1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0
BM 2	0	1	1	0	1	0	0
AL 9	0	1	0	1	1	0	0
BL 9	1	1	1	1	0	0	1
BL 5	1	1	1	1	0	0	0
BM 7	1	1	1	1	0	0	0
BL 3	1	1	1	0	0	1	0
BM 11	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
BM 1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
BM 6	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
BL 4	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
AL 3	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
AL 2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
BM 9	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
BM 5	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
A/B	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
AL 4	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
BL 7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BL 6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
AL 5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
AL 1	0	0	0	-	0	0	0
AL 6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
AL 8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
AL 7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

TABLE 13

IMPLICATIONAL SCALE WITH 0.0 THRESHOLD

PARTICIPANT NO.	AGREEMENT	DO	HAVE	NEGATION	ð	IS	PLURAL
AL 4	1	0	1	0	0	1	1
AL 9	0	1	0	1	1	0	0
AL 5	1	0	1	0	1	0	0
AL 3	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
AL 1	1	0	0	---	1	0	0
AL 6	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
AL 2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
AL 8	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
AL 7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

The median rate of nonstandard response for the Anglo children was 0.0 In Table 13 all instances in which a child gave at least one nonstandard response for a feature have been assigned "1"; 0.0 nonstandard responses have been assigned "0." The order of the features is the same as in Table 12.

The scale which results from this lowered threshold has a Rep of only .85, too low to be significant for a small number of individuals. However, when the features are reordered, as in Table 14, the Rep increases to .90.

The responses of Anglo and Black children differed both in the rate and form of nonstandard usage. The implicational scales suggest that there may also be a difference in the relationships among these constructions in the grammars used by Anglos and Blacks.

TABLE 14

REORDERED IMPLICATIONAL SCALE

PARTICIPANT	AGREEMENT	ð	HAVE	DO	NEGATION	IS	PLURAL
AL 4	1	0	1	0	0	1	1
AL 9	0	1	0	1	1	0	0
AL 3	1	0	1	1	0	0	0
AL 5	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
AL 1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
AL 6	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
AL 2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
AL 8	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
AL 7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

DISCUSSION

There has been much recent debate over whether Nonstandard Black English and Standard English have different underlying grammars.

It is significant that the DDM features which turn out to be the most relevant differentiators pertain to the verb system. The results of the present study support the contention that the verb system of Nonstandard Black English differs syntactically from that of Standard English while differences in other areas are primarily phonological. The fact that the phonological forms of both the noun plural and verb third person singular present tense agreement inflections are the same, yet only the latter systematic nonstandard realizations in DDM

Task III supports this generalization. The potential semantic differences in the grammar of Nonstandard Black English which may correlate with the syntactic differences in the verb system require further investigation.

A few Black children from both the BL and BM groups used nonstandard forms very infrequently, less often than some members of the Anglo group. It seems inappropriate to use a single term "Nonstandard Black English" to describe both the speech of these children and the speech of children who frequently use nonstandard forms. Impressionistically, however, these Black children do not sound like the Anglo children. Another term, "Standard Black English," has been proposed by Taylor (1971) to describe such speech. Further study is needed to determine the objective linguistic correlates of this concept.

CONCLUSIONS

The tryout with Black and Anglo kindergarten children indicates that the DDM ranks Black children along a continuum of nonstandard usage. In addition, three kinds of differences between the nonstandard usage of Anglo and Black kindergarten children were found. The forms of the nonstandard usage were in some instances different. Anglo children, but not Blacks, generalized the use of agreement and extended it to gots. Black children, on the other hand, but not Anglos, used have and do with no agreement. The groups also differ in the rate of nonstandard usage. Black children used the nonstandard form of each construction more often than did Anglo children. Besides differences in the form and rate of nonstandard usage there are differences in non-

standard patterns. The implicational relationships among features which held for Black children do not appear to hold for Anglo children.

No significant linguistic differences were found between the groups of Black children based on economic categories. Within each group, however, there was a wide range of individual variation in nonstandard usage.

With the exception of plural, which has primarily standard usage for all children, the linguistic features used in DDM appear to be valid measures of Standard English vs. Nonstandard Black English. The three production tasks successfully elicit multiple occurrences of relevant linguistic constructions, most of which occur at low frequency in spontaneous conversation. Readily comparable responses were elicited from all children in environments which facilitate discrimination between standard and nonstandard realizations.

RECCOMMENDATIONS

On the basis of the results of the present study several recommendations for future revisions of the DDM can be made:

1. Eliminate the affricate as a scored realization category from the feature initial th (Task I).
2. Order the stimulus pictures for Task II presence/absence such that the picture with the object present is to the right to facilitate the responses he do/he does rather than he don't/he doesn't.
3. Eliminate the feature plural (Task III).
4. Represent more of the Task III actors as female to increase the potential of such nonstandard responses as "her reads books." where the standard nominative form of the subject pronoun (she) is replaced by the form her.

APPENDIX I

STIMULUS PICTURES FOR TASKS I AND II

Item No.	Object	Property	Left	Right
1	bug	number	3 spots	*1 spot
2	bird	size	big	*little
3	house	presence/absence	*window	no window
4	clown	color	*yellow	red
5	boat	number	1 sail	*2 sails
6	bug	size	*big	little
7	bird	presence/absence	no worm	*worm
8	house	color	*green	blue
9	clown	number	*3 buttons	1 button
10	boat	size	big	*little
11	bug	presence/absence	hat	no hat
12	bird	color	blue	red
13	house	number	two windows	1 window
14	clown	size	little	big
15	boat	presence/absence	sail	no sail
16	bug	color	orange	green
17	bird	number	2 feathers	5 feathers
18	house	size	little	big
19	clown	presence/absence	no hat	hat
20	boat	color	blue	red

*Marks item questioned in Task I (10 items)

APPENDIX II

STIMULUS PICTURES FOR TASK III

Item No.	Occupation
1	cake baker
2	dog catcher
3	toy maker
4	cookie eater
5	apple picker
6	house painter
7	tree planter
8	movie maker
9	orange seller
10	mountain climber
11	boat builder
12	bird watcher
13	horse rider
14	book reader
15	car parker
16	ticket taker

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